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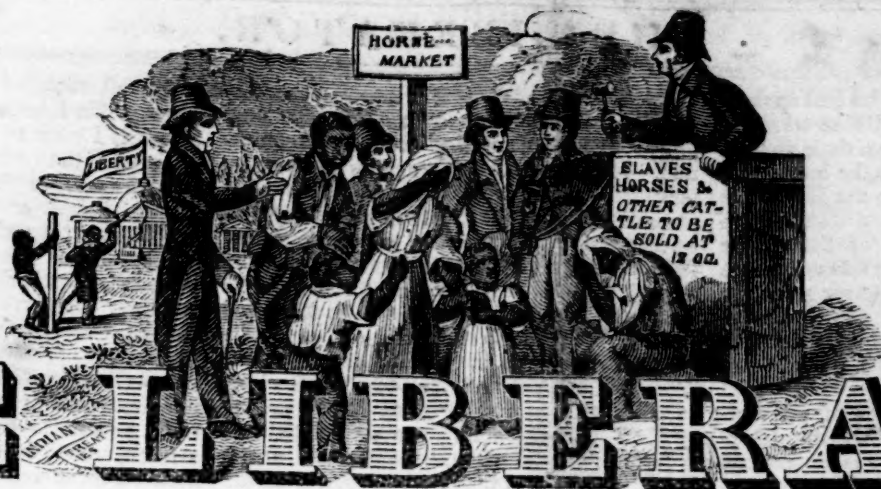
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THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. III.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

NO. 9

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.]

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN, ALL MANKIND.

[SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1833.]

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THE LIBERATOR.

"If neither the state, nor individuals, are to do justice, without an absolute certainty as to possible consequences which are beyond their own control, the great rule of right is at an end, and every one may plead the probable injustice of another in defence of his own deliberate wrong-doing. I can never consent to oppose a temporary and apparent expediency to those eternal obligations which religion founds upon the law of God, and which morality derives from an expediency which is permanent and universal.—LORD GODERICH.

NULLIFICATION.

Extract from a letter from Estwick Evans, Esq. to the Editor of the Liberator, dated

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12, 1833.

"I feel much concerned relative to the movements in South Carolina. I fear that a state of things is approaching which will, indeed, 'try men's souls.' It is time for every man, without exception, to make up his mind upon the subject, and to stand and cover his ground. Owing to peculiar circumstances, I have, of late years, scarcely felt that I had a country;—but as real danger approaches, she comes upon my spirit in all her inherent worth, and grandeur, and beauty; and as man talks with man, calls on me, as one of her children, to lend her my aid, however feeble it may be.

I have thought and written much on the subject of Nullification; but have published nothing, being unwilling to burthen the public by adding to the mass of views which has been or will be presented on the occasion. There is one idea which has occurred to me, and which strikes me with some force. It is the original relation of the parties under the confederation, and followed up by the adoption of the Constitution.

The territories, now 'the 13 states,' were, previous to the revolution, in a separate colonial dependence. They united to throw off this yoke and establish their freedom. To do this they subscribed to the articles of confederation, headed with these words: 'Articles of confederation and perpetual union.' And afterwards they solemnly agreed to the Constitution, beginning as follows: 'We the people of the United States, in order to ensure a more perfect union.'

Under these solemn contracts the States, individually, are not only under obligation to each and all the rest to adhere to the union, but have an absolute right to insist upon such adherence on the part of one another. This adherence may, by and by, be essential to their safety, individually, against the very power which they once united to banish from the country; and they have individually a strict right to its maintenance on the part of each and all. It was purchased at the expense of the treasure and the blood of the noble sons of each and all;—by the benefits of each and all—of South Carolina among the rest;—and of course South Carolina is under a solemn cor-

responding correlative obligation to adhere to the union.

Each state then assisted in achieving the liberties of each and of the whole; and each is entitled to the protection of each and of the whole—perpetually.

But where is South Carolina? Suppose Maine and New-Hampshire, for example, are invaded by a foreign power—invaded by Great Britain for the purpose, by taking advantage of our disunion, of subjugating them—reducing them again to colonial servitude, and to unite them to her Canadian dominions; and not these states, in this case, entitled to the support of the nation,—the whole nation, as it now is, including South Carolina?

Suppose not only South Carolina, but Virginia and twenty other states should secede, where, in such case, are the rights of security of Maine and New-Hampshire? And the question applies to any other individual state. In the case supposed, would not South Carolina be bound by her original contract, under the confederation, followed up by her adoption of the constitution, to support the states not seceding and thus invaded?

Let every state individually look to this, and cling to the union, and insist upon an adherence to it on the part of each and all the rest. It is the union which gives to each the strength of all;—as in a community, the feeblest individual has the support and defence of the law, which is the public will enforced by the public strength.

Could a single state defend herself against a foreign power? No. Well, who will defend her? Perhaps other states under an alliance. But for this alliance an enormous sum must be paid, or a reciprocal defence be pledged, which will draw upon the state supposed for her blood and her treasure. Oh! what a field for intrigue both at home and abroad will this poor devoted country furnish! Foreign policy, with power in one hand and gold in the other, will make her the theatre of corruption and civil strife, and every evil which the most fruitful imagination can conceive. Tyrants in distant climes will rejoice, and the friends of liberty—of benevolence—of man, will forever mourn. The shades of Washington—of Lafayette and the other heroes of the Revolution, will weep tears of blood—yea, even the very stones of our fields will cry out for us and for shame against us.

Think not that I am against the idea of state rights. No. Whilst I would give a fair construction to the constitution of the General Government, I am full of national pride upon this subject. New-Hampshire is my peculiar country—the country of my nativity—the grave of my father—and where I first saw the heavens. Each state is a nation by itself—with all the rights of a nation, except so far as she has clearly delegated authority to act for her in the constitution of the United States. She is yet a nation, but is bound to perform her part of a certain contract entered into with the other states, which contract constitutes the general government.

If South Carolina stood on the ground of her reserved rights—that is, her rights not delegated, I would not only justify her, but applaud and defend her. I appreciate the worth of the South, I admire her genius, and sympathize in all her misfortunes. But I consider the positions of South Carolina entirely untenable. I can hardly but believe that the tariff is in some measure a pretence to sever the union. If not, she would, it appears to me, wait until her case was unquestionable;—and even then lay hands on the holy ark of the union only with sorrow and with trembling.

The states should be preparing to make great sacrifices, if need be, to support the general government in all its legitimate movements. It is better to lose blood now and continue united, than to become the victim, during all future time, of civil commotion and political evil in every shape. Every thing will depend upon moderation, combined with energy and decision on the part of the states. In so clear a case, no concession should be made—no compromise whatever. The union is worthy of unqualified support, and should receive it.

Finally, my friend, we owe a deep debt, by our holy origin and the constitution of a common nature, to love and commiserate the unborn millions who are to follow us. I sympathize—deeply sympathize with these, and will, for one, endeavor to perform my duty to them as well as to the present generation."

[From the Village Record.]

FOOD FOR REFLECTION.

South Carolina says, that she will nullify such laws of the United States as she does not approve of; and she has elected to her own legislature, a majority of persons favorable to that measure.

South Carolina has assumed the tone of a conqueror, and speaks as if entitled to dictate to all the other members of the confederacy. The whole of the white inhabitants of that State, is little more than the number in the City of Philadelphia or New-York. Her domestic enemies, the slaves, are in number nearly one half more than the whites.

Suppose South Carolina were an Island, far separated by the ocean from any other land, how long could her white inhabitants keep the black ones in slavery—the black ones increasing by births to the whites in a ratio of about five to three?

How long could the white population in all the slave States, unsupported by the free States, preserve their dominion over the blacks? Does a riot or a fire occur in any of their cities or villages, that the first thought is not of a servile insurrection?

In case of the invasion of the Middle or Northern States by a foreign enemy, could any of the slaveholding States venture to send a single regiment out of their own bounds to the assistance of their Northern allies?

If this be the situation of the slaveholding States at present, how much worse will it be if the reformed parliament of Great Britain, about to assemble, shall take measures, as it is supposed they will do, for the speedy emancipation of all the slaves in their West India Islands?

In the trifling insurrection at Southampton of 'Nat Turner, and his deluded handful of followers,' was not the first thing thought of, and prayed for—the assistance of the troops of the United States? Was not the application of the Committee of the citizens of Southampton immediately to the President for men and arms? And was not this from the inhabitants of the 'old dominion,' which they are disposed to consider, and perhaps with propriety—as the most chivalrous state in the Union? And is it persons in this situation, exposed daily and nightly to the knife and torch of the assassin and incendiary, whose vindictive nature is roused to vengeance by a keen sense of long suffered wrongs—a foe within their houses and on their own hearths—is it persons in this situation who talk of nullifying the laws and withdrawing themselves from the protection of the free States of the Union? 'Whom God wills of, he destroys,' he first renders insane. Is not the doctrine of nullification, in such a situation, the first symptoms of this dreadful insanity?

Perhaps this may be the will of Providence; at any rate it seems to have become necessary for the middle States to consider what would be the probable result of a dissolution of the present Union, and the formation of new confederacies.

The greatest and perhaps the only regret of the free States at such an event, is the apprehension of an injury which the cause of republicanism might suffer from such a measure.—If it were done in wrath and bloodshed, the great cause of mankind, of which the important experiment is now making in the United States of America, would sustain a wound, from which it might require a great length of time to recover; but this would not be the case if it were effected with kind feelings, and as a measure of propriety, resulting from peculiar circumstances which made it desirable.

Is there not danger of a republic, as well as a monarchy, becoming too powerful for the peace and safety of her neighbors? Is it likely to promote the happiness of her own citizens, that the measure of her strength shall greatly exceed what is necessary for self-defence, and the protection of their rights and liberties? Is there not danger that an excess of power might lead her to become the aggressor in contests, which otherwise with honor to herself, she might, prudently, have avoided?—Is there less of pride and ambition among our own citizens, than among the subjects of other countries?

Is it calculated where the bounds of our republic shall stop? When we may say—'Thus far shalt thou go, and no further?' Suppose Great Britain should say to the Canadas—and it would be wisdom for her to say so—'You are annually costing us much more than you are worth to us; and in our present views of retrenchment and reform, we do not think it proper to incur the expense of maintaining the host of civil and military officers for your benefit which we have hitherto done, and in return for which we draw no taxes, and little trade from you. Go, take care of yourselves, we enfranchise you,' and the Canadas should apply to become members of the confederacy—should we accept them, and add them as two more stars to our national banner?

Suppose that, on the South, the inhabitants of Texas should declare themselves independent of Mexico; and that Texas, a province as large as several of our States united, should apply to the great republic to be permitted to shelter herself under the wings of her eagle; shall we comply with her request? Why, we know already that our ambassador to Mexico, was instructed to treat for that province: that long and labored disquisitions have been published in the papers of the southern states, to prove the necessity of our being possessed of it; and that millions would be paid for it by our government, insatiable of territory. And at this moment, see Texas, as if to promote our views, in partial insurrection; held only by the feeble arm of Mexico, palsied by factions and cabals, and unable to enforce her laws within the extent of her immense wastes. This is the precise situation in which our government is always prompt to act. Listen to

what our third President said when he was laying his plans for the purchase of the Floridas—'We have some claims to extend on the sea coast, westwardly, to the Rio del Norte or Bravo. The claims will be a subject of negotiation with Spain; and if, as soon as she is at war, we push them strongly with one hand, holding out a price in the other, we shall certainly obtain the Floridas; and all in good time.' So, I presume, our Southern friends expect to add Texas to the great republic, 'and all in good time.' Do we not obtain all their lands from the Indians in the same way?

Look on the map, at the limits of the 'old thirteen United States,' that passed so triumphantly through the revolution, and see how small they are, compared with the additions made to them by the purchases from France and Spain, of Louisiana and the Floridas;—and are we not yet large enough?—Have not our 'black-spirits and white' enough of discordant elements among them, that we should be continually seeking for more, and crying with the 'secret, black and midnight hags,'

'Double, double toil and trouble;
Fire, burn; and, cauldron, bubble!'

Is it not time to ask ourselves, to what all this shall tend?

I do not censure the purchases of Louisiana and the Floridas. These purchases, if used to a right end, may be useful to mankind; but it becomes us to look at the result which we would wish to obtain, and to endeavor to direct our affairs so as to produce it. At present, the States appear to be in the situation of the members of a copartnership, who, having become prosperous and wealthy, far beyond their original expectations, having 'waxed fat and kicked,' entertain amongst themselves, widely different views of the measures most proper to be pursued for their own interests, and whose tempers, as well as their opinions, their very prosperity, instead of harmonizing, has rendered turbulent and discordant. Pennsylvania, whose intelligence and population entitle her to a much higher rank in the federation than she has been permitted to take, is in favor of the encouragement of domestic industry, of internal improvements, (embracing roads and canals, upon which much of her industry and wealth is to depend,) and of a sound and equitable currency, throughout the whole extent of the Union. Absolutely necessary as these all appear for her prosperity, she finds every maxim of her policy most bitterly opposed by some of the States of the South.—The views of Pennsylvania are those of by far the greater part of the inhabitants of the States east of her—and is that policy upon which the prosperity of the free States has depended, to be borne down and destroyed by the wrong-headed violence of some of the Southern States, who are in reality too weak to assure their own safety for a day, if unprotected by the power of those whose patience and forbearance have induced their wilful antagonists to treat their wishes and interests with insolence and contumely? It is wise, however, in those who are strong, to be temperate; but if the violent language of some of the Southern States be not altered, it will become a duty to themselves for the citizens of the free States to consider how long it will be proper to bear with it; and whether, if the slaveholding States think themselves strong enough to form a confederacy among themselves, of sufficient force to meet the emergencies to which their peculiar situation is exposed, it might not be better to propose that measure to them, before their violence be carried to a length at which it will be no longer bearable. We may invite them to make the essay, and see how we could separate amicably, and what part of the members of the present confederacy they would get to unite with them in the new arrangement.

Louisiana would not, I presume, join Georgia and South Carolina. Virginia and Maryland, that are debating about the best and most expeditious methods of getting rid of their slaves, would not. The confederacy would then be confined to Georgia, and one or both of the Carolinas; and, perhaps, East Florida, provided the arts of the leading men in Charleston, and such persons as A. S. Clayton, can accomplish so much. But what need Pennsylvania care how these things are disposed of? Might not she and the States north and east of her united, be 'confident against the world in arms,' in a good cause?

What effect would a new arrangement of the states, if amicably made, have upon the cause of republicanism, in other countries? Suppose that Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine and Vermont, united. No one would doubt their having ample extent and sufficient power. That would be the first confederacy. Virginia, Maryland and Delaware, would probably desire to join with them; but suppose they added themselves to North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida, for a second confederacy. West Florida, and Alabama would join Louisiana, whose commercial capital will, at some day not very remote, rival those that are the most famed in story. The current of trade would probably attach to her Mississippi, Arkansas, and Ten-

nessee, and when a sufficient number of American citizens shall inhabit it, ('all in good time') Texas. This would make the third confederacy. Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, and their dependencies, would be abundantly extensive for the fourth one. Or Kentucky and Missouri might attach themselves to the Mississippi confederacy, and the lands claimed by the United States, west of all those, extending to the Pacific, containing in square miles an amount equal to all I have mentioned, would afford sufficient scope for others hereafter.—Look at the map.

Suppose the separation of the Carolinas, and Georgia made in anger, with force and bloodshed—then, indeed, might we deprecate it as disastrous to ourselves, and injurious to the cause of freedom, and the amelioration of mankind over the globe. Then indeed, would it be deeply a source of grief, that our country, which is without a foe abroad, should be rent into fragments by the wickedness and folly of some of her own citizens. But suppose that peace and harmony could be improved by a new arrangement; and that a division could be made, and new confederacies formed with kind and friendly feelings, taking into due consideration locality and climate, each confederacy having sufficient power for its own maintenance and support, with a general league, among the whole offensive and defensive, against the encroachments and interference of all foreign powers. We should then show to all the enemies of republicanism—to those who think man unfit to be his own leader, and the maker of the laws which are to govern him, a situation which as yet has never been shown; where power was voluntarily divided and distributed as it would be most useful; where, when the situation, and exigencies, and growth of the nation rendered it desirable, new arrangements of territory could be made, while all the movements of the complicated political machine were preserved in the most perfect order; where man sought but the happiness of his fellow man, and was willing to do unto others what he wished them to do unto him. Could we more powerfully enforce those maxims which we ought to be desirous of inculcating on all nations, that Providence intended mankind for a state of equality and self government?

I say nothing about the national debt being paid off—nor of the wild lands which belong to the present Union, being sold, and the proceeds divided among the several states (a division which would be particularly useful to Pennsylvania, in consequence of her present debt, incurred in making her canals and rail roads;) nor of the necessity there would be, in the first instance, of appropriating a sufficient extent of territory in the west for the residence of all the Indians whom it is the determination of the Southern States to banish from their limits, and from the graves of their fathers; nor of the propriety of reserving a similar place of refuge for the persecuted race of Africa, when their present masters shall think their release from their fetters proper or necessary. I say nothing about the improper disparity of votes allowed to the Southern slaveholders, in consequence of their possession of that kind of property which calls for all their force to keep it in subjection, and which forms the great moral blot upon the escutcheon of our country, &c. &c. What I have said, are slight hints, thrown out at present, merely for the purpose of calling reflection to a most important subject; and with the belief that the situation of our country now calls loudly for that reflection. Perhaps it will not be long before it will require action. Our present situation was foreseen and commented upon, by some of our wisest statesmen, when the addition of Louisiana to the thirteen states, gave assurance that at some future day, the formation of new confederacies would become necessary. I am not more anxious for the sake of our own general welfare, than for that of the example which we shall exhibit to the rest of the world, that this shall be done in amity. I might quote much said on this subject to which time has given the appearance of prophecy. I will, however, make but one reference, which may here be considered in place. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Mr. Breckenridge, nearly thirty years ago, just after the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana, and before that treaty was ratified by the Congress of the United States, says—

'When I view the Atlantic states procuring for those on the eastern waters of the Mississippi, friendly, instead of hostile neighbors on its western waters, I do not view it as an Englishman would the procuring future blessings for the French nation, with whom he has no relation of blood or affection. The future inhabitants of the Atlantic and Mississippi states will be our sons. We leave them in distinct, but bordering establishments. We think we see their happiness in their union, and wish it. Events may prove it otherwise; and if we see their interest in separation, why should we take side with our Atlantic rather than our Mississippi descendants? It is the elder and the younger son differing. God bless them both, and keep them in Union, if it be for their good; but separate them, if it be better.'

DEBATE ON THE TARIFF.

Extracts from the speech of John Q. Adams, in the House of Representatives, Feb. 4.

The position he had assumed was, that the Government was bound to protect the great interests, all the great interests of the citizens. Wherever any great interest existed in the community, there the protection of Government must of right be extended. But protection might be extended in different forms to different interests. It was true that the interests of one portion of the community could often be protected only at the expense of some other portion of it. It was the complaint of the nullifiers that the Government took money out of the pockets of one portion of the Union, to put it into the pockets of another. And, in extending protection, this must always more or less be the case. But then, while the rights of one party were protected in this way, the rights of the other party were protected, equally, but in a different way.

He would illustrate this position. In the Southern and the Southwestern portions of this Union, there existed a certain interest which he need not particularly designate, which enjoyed under the Constitution, and the laws of the United States, an especial protection peculiar to itself. It was protected first by representation. There were upon that floor upwards of twenty members who represented what in other States had no representation at all. Mr. A. believed that it was not three days since he had heard it declared by a gentleman from Georgia—(Mr. Clayton)—that the species of population he now alluded to constituted the 'Machinery of the South.' Now that Machinery had twenty odd Representatives in that Hall; Representatives elected not by the machinery, but by those who owned it. Was there any such representation in any other portion of the Union? Did the manufacturers ask for any representation of their machinery? He believed their looms and factories had no vote in Congress; but the machinery of the South had more than twenty representatives on that floor. And if he should go back to the history of this Government, from its foundation, it would be easy to prove that its decisions had been effected in general by majorities less than that.

Nay, he might go farther and insist, that that very representation of which he had spoken had ever been, in fact, the ruling power of this Government. Was this not protection?—Was it not protection at the expense of another portion of the community? If it did not literally take money out of the pockets of some and put it into the pockets of others, still it operated in precisely the same way. Yes—this very protection had taken millions and millions of money from the free laboring population of this country, and put it into the pockets of the owners of Southern machinery. Mr. A. did not complain of this—he did not say that it was not all right. What he said was, that the South possessed a great protected interest—an interest protected by that instrument—[Mr. A. held the Constitution in his hand.]

He was for adhering to the bargain, because it was a bargain. Not that he would agree to it, if the bargain was now to be made over again.

This interest was further protected by another provision of that same instrument.

'No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

What was this but protection to the owners of the machinery of the South? And let it be observed that a provision like this ran counter to all the tenor of legislation, in the free States. It was contrary to all the notions and feelings of the people of the North, to deliver a man up to any Foreign authority, unless he had been guilty of some crime. And but for such a clause in the compact, a Southern gentleman who had lost some article of his machinery, could never recover him back from the free States.

The Constitution contained another clause extending still further protection to the same interest. It guaranteed to every State in the Union a republican government.

'The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall PROTECT each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.'

This, to be sure, was a general provision, operating alike on every portion of the Union. But every body knew, that where this sort of machinery existed, the State was more liable to domestic violence than they were elsewhere, because that machinery sometimes exerted a self-moving power. Such a power had been exerted. The call for this protection had very recently been made, and it had been answered; and the power of the Union had been exerted to insure the owners of the machinery against domestic violence. Mr. Adams would say one word more on this guarantee of a republican form of Government.—It was a serious question in his mind, whether that part of the Constitution was not at this very time on the eve of being called into execution. He had no hesitation in saying that if South Carolina were not at this moment under a government not republican, she was at a very little distance from it. It deserved serious consideration, whether the ordinance of the nullifiers had not placed South Carolina without the verge of republican governments. When he endeavored to reflect upon what the proceedings of South Carolina had been, and asked himself whether the power now operating there could truly be described as a republican government, he felt himself unable to answer the question. He should not farther enlarge upon this point at present. But it was a serious question, and it deserved our serious consideration.

Such was the protection extended by the Constitution to a particular interest in this Union.

But that same interest was further protected by the laws of the United States. It was protected by the existence of a standing army. If the States of this Union were all free republican States, and none of them possessed

any of the machinery of which he had spoken, and if another portion of the Union were not exposed to another danger, from their vicinity to the tribes of Indian savages, he believed it would be difficult to prove to the House the necessity for any such thing as a standing army. What in fact was the occupation of the army? It had been protecting this very same interest. It had been doing so ever since the army existed. Of what use to the District of Plymouth which he represented was the standing army of the United States? Of not one dollar's use, and never had been. He would go farther. The Army was not of one dollar's value to the whole manufacturing interest. The persons engaged in manufactures were, and ever had been, most orderly and exemplary in their obedience to the laws. No army was necessary to keep them in order.—Now the United States kept up an army of six thousand men. What to do? To protect the owners of this machinery, and to defend the settlers on our western frontier. In what had it been occupied during the last summer?—In protecting the factories? No. In suppressing an Indian War. The army existed only for the protection of the South and of the West. Of what value was it to those manufacturers or agriculturalists at whom the House was going to strike by this Bill? There was not one among the poorest shepherds who tended their flocks on Mr. A's native hills that did not pay his quota towards the support of this army. Was not this taking money out of the pockets of one, to put it into the pockets of another? Yet what was the ground of all the complaints? While the people of Massachusetts were spending their money to support the South and the West, what show of right had gentlemen from the South; he would do the members from the West the justice to admit that they said no such thing, but what right had the representation from the South to come on that floor, and tell them—'We will not submit to pay one single cent to protect you?'

COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Mr. R. S. Finley, of Cincinnati, the persevering advocate of the Colonization Society, is now in this city, on business connected with the objects of that institution. He politely favored us with a call, yesterday, and we had the pleasure of conversing with him several hours, on the important topics to which his attention has been directed, the affairs of Africa, and of the colored population of this country. Without being able to adopt many of Mr. Finley's views, or to get hold of such grounds of defence from the objections urged by Mr. Garrison and others against the Society, as we should have been glad to have found, we were certainly interested, and, we hope, instructed. Mr. Finley is the son of a distinguished gentleman by whom the Society was founded, and has himself been an efficient and laborious agent for the promotion of its interests at the South. The Colonization plan, according to his conception and statement of it, amounts to the ultimate result of removing our entire colored population, bond or free, to Africa, with their own consent.—It is no secret, however, that among the members of the Society, are many who advocate it, on principles and with views diametrically opposite to these. The constitution of the Society, [unfortunately, we think] contains no clause sufficiently explicit on this point, to settle disputes that may arise in the Society, so that the question whether its operations are to assist in breaking or riveting the fetters of the slave, can only be answered by ascertaining the majorities of friends or opposers of slavery, in the Society, for the time being. Should the friends of slavery preponderate, the 'removal of the free blacks,' according to the strict letter of the constitution, might easily be made to add security to the holders of slaves, and assist in giving perpetuity to the system. Should the friends of emancipation by colonization prove a majority, their mode of emancipation could be carried on, in proportion to their means, and as far as the nature of the case would permit.—While partial emigrations are now taking place, their ultimate bearing on general emancipation, as favorable or unfavorable, will, as we conceive, be wholly suspended on future contingencies. At the late annual meeting, a majority of five members, as we understood Mr. Finley, were against the new officers of the Society, who were understood to favor Mr. Finley's views of ultimate emancipation. As they had been regularly elected, however, and declined accepting the invitation to resign, they held their seats for the present year. Among these, is the Secretary, Mr. Gurley. Under these circumstances, little harmony or efficiency can be anticipated; and, on the whole, whatever may be the merits of the controversy arising from Mr. Garrison's charges against the Society, it seems plain to us that the venerable Clarkson was correct in urging the necessity of direct efforts for emancipation by Anti-Slavery Societies, explicitly framed for that object; not relying wholly or chiefly on Colonization.

On the question whether the Colonization Society will or will not second the project of the slavery party in Virginia, for deporting the free blacks without their consent, Mr. Finley, is of opinion that no danger is to be apprehended, though in view of his statements respecting the present hostility of a majority of the Society against the officers suspected of favoring abolition, we confess ourselves unable to see the grounds of his confidence. In this, as in other particulars, we had the unhappiness to draw inferences and apprehend results, from the facts stated by Mr. Finley, precisely the reverse of the impressions made by them on his own mind. Mr. Finley, however, apprehends danger to the rights of the free colored people, from another source, which had been unsuspected by us. He thinks it a settled fact, that a majority of both Houses of Congress will be ready, on the suggestion of the southern members, to make appropriations for deporting the free blacks, without their consent. We agree with Mr. Finley, that the friends of the colored people should have a vigilant eye to the approach of such a contingency, though we cannot partake of his fears, that Anti-Slavery Societies will hasten the crisis, or produce the result. On the contrary, we think nothing else can arrest it.

In regard to the Colonization Society, whatever may have been its objects and tendencies,

it seems plain to us that it is now composed of a majority of members unfavorable to general prospective emancipation, even by colonization. If we mistake not, there is already an impression in the minds of some of its most philanthropic supporters, that little more can be effected by it, in favor of emancipation. Indeed we have the best reasons to think that a project is already on foot for forming a Northern Colonization Society. It strikes us that such a Colonization Society would be more obnoxious at the South, and less efficient than a National Anti-Slavery Society. In truth, the interesting facts communicated by Mr. Finley, respecting the stifled feelings in favor of emancipation, in some form, at the South, convince us that such a society as the last named, when known and understood, would not lack southern supporters.—*New-York Moral Daily Advertiser.*

[From the Salem Register.]

FRANK DECLARATION.

MR. PALFREY.—Inasmuch as every honest man is disposed to honor truth on any subject, and the frank declaration of it on proper occasions, I think your readers will be gratified with the following extract from the *African Repository* for January 1833, which periodical is the organ of the American Colonization Society. This extract is valuable because it corrects certain opinions in regard to this Society which have by some means been circulated and adopted in New-England.

'Character of the Colonization Society.'

'The leading objection at the North to the American Colonization Society is, that it is doing nothing for the slave; nothing towards breaking up the system of slavery in our land. Let it be admitted to the credit of this objection, that it springs from a good spirit—from an impatience of one of our great national evils. But how unreasonable is it to direct such an objection against our Society! Why not as well direct it against the American Bible or American Tract Society? The avowed object of these Societies, is to multiply and distribute Bibles and Tracts. The avowed object of our Society is clearly expressed in the 2d article of its constitution. 'The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for the colonizing (with their consent,) the Free People of Color residing in our country, in Africa or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient.' The constitution of our Society is as clear of all words about slaves and slavery, as is the constitution of the Am. Bible or Tract Society. There is not a word in our constitution, that shows any design on our part to benefit the slave. It confines its scope to another class of our fellow men—and to require from our Society any direct efforts in behalf of slaves would be to require us to violate our constitution; and to denounce us for not having organized our Society with an express reference to the necessities of both of these classes of person, is as unreasonable as it would be to denounce the American Temperance Society for not having coupled with its enterprise the suppression of Lotteries.

'Let us be arraigned before the public in our true character—the character we originally assumed, and have ever since scrupulously maintained—and we do not fear the result.'

Let, then all our citizens distinctly understand, (whatever they may be told to the contrary,) that the Colonization Society professes to have no 'design to benefit the slave'; but 'confines its scope to another class of our fellow men.'

Since such is the avowed character of the Colonization Society, those who desire to see our country emancipated from slavery and its evils, must look to some other means for the accomplishment of this desire.

AMERICANUS.

[For the Liberator.]

TO THE PUBLIC.

At the solicitation of my friends, and to guard against the misrepresentations of rumor with her thousand tongues, I yield to an apprehension of duty which I owe to the cause in which I am engaged, as well as to the public whom I address, to publish a statement in relation to a recent discussion of the Colonization question.

Some months since, I made an arrangement for delivering a lecture on Slavery and Colonization, in the Tabernacle at Salem. On going there for that purpose, I was informed by a mutual friend, that he had received a letter from J. N. Danforth, Agent of the Colonization Society, saying that having understood that I proposed to deliver a Lecture there on Colonization, he 'wished to have a few days' notice of the time, that he might attend and refute my arguments.' Having, for some time, been desirous of meeting him in this way, I was pleased with the hope that he might now venture to submit the merits of his cause to the ordeal of a fair and equal discussion. I therefore gladly assented to the proposition to reserve my discourse on Colonization, until he should have an opportunity to attend and attempt a reply. I returned to Boston, and addressed a note to him, stating that having understood that he had expressed a wish to reply to me at Salem, I had engaged the Lyceum Hall for a discussion, and proposed an evening for the purpose. He replied that he was sorry he had an engagement for that very day, which would prevent him from attending. I then wrote him that I would defer going to Salem till another evening, which I named, and that I hoped he would then meet me there. At the time named, I went to Salem, and there learned that he had again written to our mutual friend, stating that he was unable to attend, in consequence of the ill health of his child.

Perceiving that many of the people in Salem were becoming more interested in the subject, and that a spirit of honest inquiry was abroad, I yielded to the suggestions of some of my friends, and returned to Boston, and notified Danforth through the medium of the public press, that, having learned it was owing to sickness in his family that he had been unable to meet me in Salem, as he had proposed to do, I had again omitted presenting my views of the Colonization Scheme to the people there, and requesting him to inform me when it would suit his purpose to meet me there, and redeem his pledge by 'refuting my arguments.' I heard nothing from him in reply, but several

weeks afterwards I learned that he was delivering public Lectures in Salem. Shortly afterwards I went to Salem, and delivered one Lecture in the Lyceum Hall. In a few days more, I received from the Committee of the Colored People an invitation to attend a meeting at their meeting-house where Danforth was to address them, and to reply to him. I went there accordingly, and, on entering the meeting, Danforth's friend Parsons left the house (as was said) to inform him that I was there. He presently came in. The house was well filled with people, colored and white, in about equal proportion. After two hymns and a prayer, he took a text and preached a sermon, some apologetics for slaveholders, some representations of the bliss of slavery, and some of the delights of Liberia, and of the love of the Colonization Society for the colored people, and then dismissed the audience. I requested such as were disposed, to stop a few minutes; and being invited by one of the Committee to take my stand in the desk, I did so. After reading to the audience the letter, inviting my attendance, I proceeded to present (not the other side of the picture, but) official Colonizationism in its own naked deformity. After which, I asked Danforth, whether the Colonization Society originated with slaveholders? At first, he evaded an answer; but being pressed, he said, 'the Rev. Robert Finley was the founder of the Society.' I replied, the name of its founder was of no consequence: the question was, whether it originated with slaveholders; and added, if Finley was its founder, he was a slaveholder, and one who regarded human beings as property, to be bought and sold like brute beasts. I was then asked either by Danforth, or by his friend Parsons, I am not sure which, whether I meant to say that Finley was a slaveholder? I answered 'No—I know nothing about it: I only say, if he was the founder of the Colonization Society, he was a slaveholder, because we are officially informed in the 22nd page of the Appendix to the 14th Annual Report, 'that most of those who assembled to form the Society, and all who expressed their sentiments on that occasion, were slaveholders'—wherefore if Danforth's statement, that he was the founder of the Society, was true, he must have been a slaveholder—if untrue, that was no fault of mine.' He then said that he did not state that Finley was the founder of the Society: on which I appealed to the audience, and requested all who understood Danforth to state that 'the Rev. Mr. Finley was the founder of the Colonization Society,' to hold up the right hand. There was a unanimous vote against him—whereupon he moved toward the door, when I observed to him that a public discussion between us having been expected in Salem, I was now ready to devote two or three days to that object. He replied that he believed the people of Salem were well satisfied on the subject, and that they would not wish to hear any farther discussion at present. Several voices were heard to say, 'the people of Salem want to hear both sides of this subject'—and a highly respected clergyman present added, 'they shall hear both sides.' Unanimous votes of disapprobation of the Colonization Society, and approbation of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, were then passed, and a collection taken up by the colored people to hire a Hall for their friends to be heard in their behalf.

Danforth having himself first proposed to meet me in Salem, and refute my charges against the Colonization Society, and being now publicly invited by me to do so, and one of the Salem papers soon afterwards calling for the discussion, he doubtless saw that farther to decline the discussion, under these circumstances, was, in effect, an abandonment of his cause—wherefore he called upon me a few days afterwards, and proposed that the discussion should take place at any time after the 10th of February. He stated, as one of the preliminaries, that the discussion should be wholly betwixt himself and me, to which I distinctly agreed. The preliminaries being thus arranged, we met in Salem on the evening of the 18th ultimo, and agreed upon the resolutions which follow, as the subjects for the discussion; and before the public in the Lyceum Hall on the same evening proceeded to discuss the first resolution, which was adopted by a vote of the meeting. We then discussed the second fully, and submitted it to the meeting:—the question was called for by the audience, and the chairman was about to take the vote, when a clergyman, known as a zealous advocate of the Colonization cause, rose and proposed an amendment of the resolution. The chairman, in the most honorable manner, decided that as the resolution had been agreed upon by the parties, it could only be altered by their consent. An adjournment was then moved, for a farther discussion of the resolution; and having too much confidence in my cause to flinch from discussion, I assented, notwithstanding it was perfectly evident that the resolution would then have been adopted by an overwhelming majority. The meeting was then adjourned to the evening of the 22nd, previous to which I was notified that a regulation had been adopted, that the Lyceum Hall could not be had for the adjourned meeting, except on condition that the audience be admitted only by tickets, at 25 cents each—the money, after paying the expenses, to be divided between the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies. My friends were much displeased with this arrangement, and many refused to attend because they would not contribute to the Colonization Society. After an ineffectual attempt to obtain another house, and also to get the price of tickets reduced to 12 1/2 cents, we were compelled to comply with the condition, or abandon the discussion. The Committee, however, generously agreed to charge nothing for the use of the Hall for the second evening, and to admit the colored people gratuitously.

On the evening of the 22nd, the Hall was nearly filled. A number of persons from Andover Theological Seminary and from Boston, had come to assist the champion of Colonization through the discussion. Notwithstanding he had publicly, before an audience to whom I had been delivering a Lecture in Northampton, stated that he regarded me as a small mouse, trying to crawl over a great mountain, it seems he now found that the cause of justice and the rights of man was likely to be carried triumphantly over the mountain on

the back of the mouse, small as he is, unless he could get assistance to knock him down; wherefore when he came on the platform, he stated to me that he should insist upon having others take part in the discussion. I remonstrated, stating that the arrangement had been made at his own suggestion, that the discussion should be only between ourselves. He continued to insist, and I to refuse; but he did not bring it before the meeting; but he was for granted that he gave it up. After an ineffectual attempt, by Danforth, to get the resolutions which had been agreed upon, put aside, and another set substituted, which he and his friends had proposed, the second resolution was again taken up, and fully discussed by us—after which, five powerful assistants came forward, with their arguments, documents and assertions, to overwhelm the single-armed feeble assailant of this colossal institution, remonstrating against others being allowed to take a part in the discussion, stating that it was in direct violation of the preliminaries agreed upon by us; yet they went on to propound a cause, by broad assertions which could have been most easily refuted, if I had had time to bring forward my facts and proofs. Two of my friends, who were present, made very few remarks, stating some facts in opposition to the suggestions of a highly respected and very popular clergyman, who, undoubtedly, spoke honestly, according to the information which he possessed, but whose statement exhibited a great want of that careful and thorough investigation, which the leaders of the people ought to bestow, before they lay down the public advocates of a cause. My friends not having come prepared with any evidence, and being strangers in the place, I evaded in reply to persons known and highly esteemed—undoubtedly produced a prejudice against the cause, which ought to have been left as originally agreed to be discussed only by two strangers, standing on equal ground, excepting the advantage which Danforth possesses from superiority of talents and education, and from the popularity of the Society which he represents. But with such fearful odds their triumph was small in the rejection of the second resolution by the meeting.

I proposed to Danforth a discussion of the resolutions at another time, which he declined. I also proposed to the clergyman, who was active in this discussion, that I would present a house for an evening in the following week, and discuss the whole ground with him before the public, which he also declined. The evening being wholly occupied till a late hour by the discussion of the second resolution, the great question involved in the third was not touched, and I have reason to believe that the principal calculation and object of the Colonization party were to evade that question.

God willing, I shall be prepared, at another time, to discuss the question; and now publicly invite any responsible Agent or advocate of the Colonization Society to discuss that resolution, at any time and place wherever I may be in the performance of my duty.

The public want light on this subject, and facts are so many as to dispel the mists and fogs of Colonizationism. Light is breaking forth, and will, ere long, illumine the entire non-slaveholding States.

ARNOLD BUFFUM.

Boston, 2d mo. 25, 1833.

The Resolutions follow:

Resolved—That the authentic publications of the American Colonization Society demonstrate that the institution originated with slaveholders, and that it does not appear that they have manumitted their own slaves. (Adopted.)

Resolved—That the avowed and only object of the Society is, to remove from the United States, and to colonize in some foreign country, that portion of the people of color who are already free, or who may hereafter be made free by the influence of anti-slavery principles. (Rejected.)

Resolved—That the tendency of the measures of the Society is, to give increased security and interest to the slave system, and especially to the domestic slave trade; also to excite and perpetuate unholy propensities against the free people of color in this country. (Not Discussed.)

SLAVERY RECORD.

FROM PORTO RICO.

Extract of a letter from an American at Ponce, Porto Rico, Feb. 2, 1833: 'I am pleasantly situated, as regards quarters, on the bay, and feed with R—. A curious affair happened here, the second night after my arrival. I was playing whist; it was eleven o'clock; a hurried knock was heard at the door of the small house we occupied; the door was opened; a breathless messenger rushed in, saying R— wanted us all immediately at his house. We jumped up, in surprise; another messenger, pale as death, followed at the heels of the first, and whispered to one of the party, who very much agitated, shouted, 'For God's sake save yourselves!' What was the matter? The blacks were killing the whites! an insurrection. I received from one of the party an iron gun, and like a walking stick; I did not know how to discharge it, but it made a good club. We rushed to R—'s house; all armed themselves—women weeping—men arming themselves—some had pistols without flints, or without powder and ball; some had the latter and not the former, and so on. A servant handed me a famous sabre, and I relinquished my gun to some one, who directly broke the ramrod, and his hurry to get it out and charge the gun. The women were sent on board the shipping, and the men patrolled with the Alcalde de Barico. This lasted till 3 o'clock, when we returned severally to our homes, it having been discovered that the alarm was without foundation. A cruel manager, afraid of his slaves, jumped out of a back window and gave the alarm in town, which was communicated to the bay by the authorities there.—*Transcript.*

A MINISTER BEGGING MONEY TO PURCHASE HIS WIFE.

It is but a short time since a minister of the gospel preached in Boston, and other northern cities, and solicited contributions that he might be able to purchase his wife! Yes, reader, he purchased his wife! His history is brief. He was born a slave. By some means he heard the gospel preached; and by the grace of God became hopefully pious. When the hard labor of the day was ended, he used to retire for prayer; but was often punished by his human master, and driven from his knees by

MISCELLANEOUS.

Extract of a letter to the Editors of the Portland

Extract of a letter to the Editors of the Portland Advertiser, dated Washington, Feb. 4.

I was amused, the other day, with Mr. Calhoun who after interrupting Mr. Frelinghuysen in debate, and attempting in vain to make him understand some of his constitutional abstractions, turned round in his seat with apparent vexation, and said in a low tone, 'I can never make a northern man understand me.' Mr. Calhoun was half right. We hate metaphysics, and are great lovers of common sense. We seldom study any thing from which can result no possible benefit. Our country claims some steady, strong minded, practical men; but our soil is so hard and rocky, our climate so cold, and our people so busy, that we have no time for abstractions. We must leave these puzzling notions to 'the children of the south,' who have politicians to think for them, slaves to work for them, and a soil fertile in any thing that sells well. Our notions are all Yankee notions. It is a rule with us never to derange our brains by hard thinking, unless we are paid for it. We take the world 'fair and easy,' grumble and scold a little, but seldom threaten. Hence we have no Don Quixotes mad on nullification, or Sancho Panzas, who think it

pleasant to govern, though only a flock of sheep. Business is with us the order of the day. We eat, drink, walk and talk in a hurry.

The truth is, we are driven to our wits to get a living. We till the earth, but no cotton, rice, tobacco, or sugar, comes therefrom. Our corn is pinched by the frost. Our wheat blushes for its meanness. The earth is but a crusty mother, and yields her tributes with reluctance. But yet we make money out of every thing. We dam up our rivers, and turn our waterfalls to account. The genius of steam steps forward and gives us a helping hand. We transform our forests into ships and water mills, edifices and buttons, and into wooden nutmegs and wooden hams, perhaps, you maliciously add. We turn our ledges into stores and churches; our straws into hats and bonnets, and even our old rags into paper. From the banks of Newfoundland we catch fish to feed you, and in the Pacific Ocean, harpoon whales for the oil to give you light to abuse us by. Our long-legged brigs dodge into your ports, and freight your cotton to Liverpool, or take it home to make music for our spinning jennies, and to keep the fingers of our girls in motion. Our sloops and schooners peddle their boards, their bricks, and notions on the coast from the Passamaquoddy to Mexico. We are every where on the ocean and the land wherever a cent of money can be gained. You see us in your cities trading a year or so, and while you are racing horses, or floundering in metaphysics, we are getting mortgages of your plantations. We turn all things to an account. Even the winds are not suffered to blow in vain. They turn our grist mills, our bark mills, or waft our ships into port. The very ashes on the hearth of the farmer are frequently sold to pay his taxes. Nothing is lost or forgotten. Even when a hog is killed, the boys of the yeoman are not suffered to forget the bristles, as for them, the pedlar 'will sell out the rhino.' So attentive are we obliged to be even in the smallest things to gain a livelihood. No wonder then that such a people who have so much to do to earn their bread and their clothes, cannot understand Southern metaphysics.

Now, Mr. Ritchie, and gentlemen from the South, do you want a remedy for the American System? Tell all your Catos, your Scipios, your Ciceros and all your Romans and Grecians, who concoct such strange doses for the Richmond Enquirer, *to go to work*—for as much as we value ourselves on our free schools, we

of your correspondents. Your very newspa-

peers are incomprehensible on our side of the Potomac. Hang them by law, the first man who writes a column on 'State Rights,' Forbid all the Virginia boys from reading Thon as Jefferson, or studying Politics before they are forty, Expunge *secession*, *nullification* and *chivalry* from your vocabulary. Away with your numerous constitutional scruples about removing Washington's remains, with all that sort of nonsense. Get rid of your slaves too as soon as you can, and let it be honorable to labor. Think nothing below your industry and your saving. Make your own shoes and boots, and cease to sell the Yankees the leather, to purchase it again when manufactured at Lynn or elsewhere.' Do this, and my life for it, Virginia will soon resume her dominion. Her roads will become passable: her villages look bright: her cities hum with industry, and

her people independent and happy.

To such a people, in such a climate, and with such a soil, the North must succumb. You can put us down in no other way. Legislate as much as you please—give us tariffs or take them away—draw us from the ocean to the land, or from the land to the ocean, we shall always be rich, and you will always be poor, while three of your negroes can do the work of but one of our white men, and while your white man is ashamed to labor, and thus spends his time in studying and talking metaphysics.

B.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15.

Mr. Calhoun drew an immense crowd to-day to the Senate. When he rose, he was evidently laboring under severe embarrassment. His pale, haggard and agitated countenance eloquently expressed what was passing within. His manner was energetic, but as usual, almost too rapid to leave any powerful impression on the mind. His periods seem to be running a race after each other, and a great part of the most pointed of his

find their way to the seat of the feelings. He

spoke for about an hour and 40 minutes, when

he was seized with a vertigo, to which he is at times subject, and had to give way to a motion to adjourn. He will probably occupy the whole of to-morrow; and if so, Mr Webster may come out in reply on Monday. I do not think that the speech of Mr Calhoun will advance his fame, at least, so far as he has gone. He had nothing to gain, but every thing to lose, as an orator. If he had had justice on his side, his talents would have achieved for him new laurels, but having the argument and the voice of the world against him, he cannot but fail.

Mr Calhoun was occasionally eloquent, generally warm and excited, and spoke for the most part rapidly—but his voice was not clear, nor even firm; and his nervous and physical system appeared to be much weakened. He was nervous in the extreme, but this might have arisen from the peculiar position in which he finds himself placed.

Mr Calhoun had scarcely taken his seat, when Mr Webster rose, as if determined not to lose a moment. He placed himself in attitude—moved his chair out of his way—and seemed prepared at once for a regular speech. And such a speech I have never heard—from a quarter to one (when Mr Calhoun concluded) to three—then a recess till 5 o'clock—then from 5 till past 8 o'clock to night, when he concluded. It has not yet ceased to ring in my ears. It has not been surpassed, in my opinion, by any effort he ever made, not excepting his famous speech on Foote's resolution on the public lands. In parts it was withering—it was annihilating—and full of mixed argument and castigation.

Two days in succession have I been exhausting my bodily strength in squeezing and being squeezed, in the Senate Chamber. And yet I would go through it all again and again to enjoy the same high intellectual treat which the debate between CALHOUN and WEBSTER has afforded. The former has not reached my expectations. Perhaps it is owing to his unfortunate, and I cannot help thinking, unnatural position. His doctrine of nullification is sustained by no power of intellect—it bears down to the earth the genius and spirit whence it has sprung. Mr WEBSTER grappled him the instant he ceased to speak, and has dashed him from one rock to another until no life nor shape seems left. I cannot describe to you the effect of his speech.

MR. PALFREY,—Allow me to state a few

MR. PALFREY,—Allow me to state a few facts in relation to the labors of our County Agent, DANIEL FROST, Jun. Esq. who has just left us. Mr. F. commenced his agency in Essex County, on the eleventh of September last, and has continued it, with the exception of a short interim about 'Thanksgiving time,' till the beginning of last week. He has visited every town in the County. He found forty Temperance Societies previously existing within the limits of the County, and has left behind him seventy. The number of members when he began his agency, was eight thousand, two hundred and sixty-seven. It is now sixteen thousand, four hundred and forty-two. In other words, it has been doubled, in four months, which is just about the amount of time, taking out occasional interruptions, occupied by the Agency. In this single town, a glorious advance has been made. The Agent's report gives an increase of about seventeen hundred, during his visit here—making the total of names pledged, *bona fide*, as we trust, to Total Abstinence in Salem, three thousand. On one evening, at the close of the lecture, over three hundred names were subscribed.—On another, four hundred and fifty. About four hundred were given in, on one evening, at South Danvers. But I need not enlarge. Such facts speak volumes. No agent who is enabled to make up such a record, needs any other praise. Higher evidence of his ability, or his worth, could not be given. Still we cannot help adding, that Mr. Frost has left behind him a place in our most grateful recollections. The dignity and urbanity of his manners, his captivating eloquence, his untiring zeal, his admirable tact in the management of every part of his agency, and above all, the brilliant success, with which a kind Providence has crowned his efforts in one of the noblest of causes, will not be forgotten by this generation. The results of this agency are not to be estimated now. They belong to the future, not less than to the present. They are, they *must* be, such as shall rejoice the heart of every philanthropist and christian. To the Agent we must be allowed to say, on parting, may your life long be preserved, and your labors in this mighty enterprise, cease only with your life. May every County Committee in the Commonwealth, be as fortunate, in the selection of their Agents, as ours has been, and the tide of Temperance rise and roll on, till it has swept away all the mischiefs and misery, which the antagonistic vice has created.—*Salem Register.*

Temperance Prize Question.—With the laudable design of promoting the temperance reformation, which has been so successfully commenced in the United States, the Pennsylvania State Temperance Society has united with several benevolent individuals, for the purpose of raising a sum, as a premium, to be awarded to the author of the best dissertation, embracing the following questions, viz:—

- I. What is the history of the origin of *ardent spirit*, and of its introduction into medical practice?
- II. What are its effects upon the animal

III. Is there any condition of the system, in health or disease, in which its use is indispensable, and for which there is not an adequate substitute?

It is desirable that the premium should be at least \$500, and efforts will be made to raise it to \$1000. At present, however, we are authorized to pledge a premium of but 300 dollars, which will be awarded in money, a gold medal, or in plate with a suitable inscription, at the option of the successful writer.

Dissertations must be transmitted, post paid, to the *Rev. W. W. Miles, New-York city*, on or before the 1st of January, 1834. The dissertation should have on its title page a device or motto, corresponding with one upon an accompanying sealed letter, containing the author's name, title and residence.

The seal on the letter accompanying the successful dissertation, *only*, will be broken, while *all others*, with their dissertations, will remain at the disposal of their authors.

The Board of adjudicators consist of John C. Warren, M. D. professor of anatomy and surgery, Harvard University, Boston; Thomas Sewall, M. D. professor of anatomy and physiology, Columbia college, Washington, D. C.;

AN AMATEUR. On Friday evening Mr. Brink, one of the police officers, was informed by a mulatto girl that a young fellow by the name of Renshaw had come to her father's house that afternoon, and endeavored to borrow some of her clothes, to act the part of Kate in the play of Tom and Jerry. She refusing to lend, he watched a favorable opportunity, and slyly slipped to her bureau, from which he took some under linen, several petticoats, together with a frock, and quickly decamped. Accompanied by this girl, Mr Brink proceeded to a rear house in Orange near Bayard street, which is occupied as a theatre by a set of Amateurs 25 in number, all of whom he found dressed for their characters in Tom and Jerry. Several of them were in the garb of women, and so much disguised by corsets, curls, paint, and balloon sleeves, that it was with difficulty Renshaw could be identified. Next morning he was brought to the Police, where it was stated he had been frequently seen at balls, and also parading Broadway in the dress of a female. Several effeminate things who belonged to the above 'Shakespeare Club,' came into the office to be his bail, but as they were not deemed competent, he was committed to Bridewell.—*New York Standard.*

Distressing Accident. It falls to our lot to record one of the most melancholy occurrences that has for a long time happened in this community. Yesterday morning, between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock, as Mr William Russel, Jr. one of our most enterprising citizens, was in his grist-mill explaining to a person the nature of some improvements he had been making in his machinery, the skirt of his coat was caught in the cogs of the wheels, and he was drawn in and crushed immediately to death. The accident was so sudden, that the person with him was unaware of any thing extraordinary having occurred, until he looked round and saw the lifeless body mangled in a shocking manner. Not a groan was heard, the departure of life was so instantaneous. Mr. R. was in the 68th year of his age, and was respected by all who knew him. He has left a large family to mourn the afflicting dispensation of an overruling Power.—*New Bedford Gazette.*

Agitation.—It is by agitation that the air is made refreshing when the sultry heats of summer sicken the delicate and enervate the strong.

It is agitation which preserves large bodies of water from stagnation and putrescence.

It is agitation which brings down the rotten wood of the forest with a crash to the ground. It is agitation by the same strong breeze which strengthens the stout oak, and gives it a firmer holding on the soil.

It is by agitating subjects connected with public liberty, that the calm of despotism and the succeeding storm of revolution are equally avoided. Let those who are for a public passiveness, quiescence, and unruffled surface, know that the storm which succeeds this is irresistible as the tornado, devastating as the locust, and sudden as the whirlwind.—*Vindicator*.

Meeting of Oneida Presbytery.—The meetings of this body were closed on Friday afternoon, after a session of about four days, which was adjourned without clearing more than half the docket. Many subjects of great interest were brought forward, and many more remain to be acted on at the meeting at New-York Mills, on the first Monday of March.

The Agent of the Wilberforce African settlement, Israel Lewis, a very intelligent colored man, was heard in reference to his agency, and considerable interest was felt in the subject. A resolution passed, recommending that contributions be taken up in the several churches for this object, and forwarded to Mr. E. Vernon, of this city, as soon as practicable.

We ought in justice to Mr. Lewis to say, that so far as we know, the opinion is fully entertained, that he is a man of entire probity, and that the announcement in some of the papers to the contrary, is the work of a few disaffected men in the Canadian colony, who are dissatisfied with his salutary administration of affairs there.—*Utica Recorder*.

Mr. Israel Lewis, (a colored man,) the founder of the Wilberforce colony, in Upper Canada, has called on us for the purpose of exhibiting his credentials as the duly authorized agent of the colony of colored people established at Wilberforce, and of refuting certain aspersions on his character which have appeared in the Rochester papers. We have looked over his papers touching his authority to act as agent, and from other information, feel bound to say, that the publications which have been made designed to impair the public confidence in him as the agent of the colony, appear unmerited. A new Board of Managers have, it seems, given notice cautioning the public against paying Mr. Lewis any money as agent. Mr. Lewis denies, and we think justly, the authority of this Board, and shows from his papers, that they are not the Board of Managers, regularly appointed. We have seen the private seal of the Governor of Upper Canada, to the credentials of Mr. Lewis, under date of Nov. 1832. Mr. Lewis appears to be an intelligent and upright man, ardent in the good cause in which he is engaged, and which certainly deserves success.

Utica Sentinel.

M O R A L .

INFIDELITY.

Dr. Thomson remarks in one of his sermons that the causes of infidelity are seldom found in the evidences of Christianity or in churches.

tions to it, but they come from other quarters, for example—inconsiderateness, intellectual pride, moral depravity. Reading lately a review of 'Lord Byron's conversation on religion,' by Dr. Kennedy, it struck us that the case of Byron was a good illustration of the remark. Byron was thoroughly an infidel. He discussed revelation summarily and particularly. The recklessness which marked his conduct and conversation, gives us a clue to the process by which he became and continued to be an infidel; it was, in short, the inconsistency of which Dr. Thomson speaks. Dr. Kennedy found Byron in Greece in more favorable circumstances for religious impressions than probably had ever before occurred. He made a persevering effort to produce religious impressions in his mind, which might lead to conversion to the truth. He succeeded in gaining the confidence of Byron in a remarkable degree, and his attention more than could have been expected. But he wanted skill and judgement in approaching a man so capricious and the end of his zealous effort was disappointment—which adds to the melancholy interest which the public have felt in his history—the history of a man distinguished, perhaps equally by his talents, his infidelity, his vices and we may add, his misery.

In the conversations, Byron said 'he wished to have his religious opinions fixed, but he could not understand the subject; and he had seen so many whose life gave the lie to their profession, that his impression was that the Christians believed the scriptures.' On the subject of miracles, it was a sufficient answer that one had happened in a Catholic church in Italy while he was there; the church having taken fire, the fire was extinguished by one of the saints holding out his toe. Wishing to throw off the imputation that he did not read the bible, he produced a pocket bible which he said had been given him by his sister, and which he affirmed he had read. After some conversation, he wished to know of Dr. Kennedy what he thought of the Witch of Endor, declaring it the finest and most finished scene that ever was written. 'It beats all the glories I ever read.' At another time he said to him, after dining in company with one of the Greek chiefs—'Do you know I am now reconciled to St. Paul?' He says there is no difference between the Jews and the Greeks: I am exactly of the same opinion, for the characters of both are equally vile.

Now this is precisely the way in which a large class of unbelievers treat Christianity. If they read at all, it is for purposes the most perverse. In the case of Byron, it is to find the materials of a poem or a jest, or it is to seek for some absurdity or mystery with which they may amuse themselves, or use on occasion as a weapon against Christianity. This is the extent of their consideration; while the greatest part of their lives is spent in utter disregard of the bible—it finding no place at all in their minds.

There is still a large class who do not consider even to the extent we have just described. They reject Christianity on the ground of a sweeping prejudice in the outset, and then merging themselves in pursuits of pressing worldly business or absorbing pleasures, they do not recur to it voluntarily, and when obtruded on their notice they repeat their rejection with equal inconsiderateness. How many of the present generation of infidels in France among the higher classes, have ever read the bible for any purpose?—Probably not one in five hundred.

But there is a class of infidels different from these. They who with a spirit of rancor and cordial hatred to the bible, pursue it systematically and perseveringly. Such was Gibbon, whose spite shows itself, and whose yellowness tinges every chapter in the 'Decline and Fall.' Such were Voltaire, Hume, Paine, and others. We think it likely the original cause of infidelity in these men was pride of intellect, though their infidelity was doubtless confirmed by moral depravity. Hume felt himself sufficiently flattered with the prospect of staggering the opinions of the world on the subject of miracles. While all assented, he esteemed it a great feat, if by an ingenious and plausible, yet groundless theory, he could unsettle the minds of the multitude. It is easy to see how this propensity may give the entire direction to the mind; and even though the person may study the bible much, yet it shall always be with this simple design,—of looking for and exposing defects,—showing that this doctrine is mysterious and unworthy to be believed,—or that that involves an absurdity and should be rejected.

It is time the world were disabused of the impression which infidels have labored to produce, and to a certain extent have produced, that the bible is to be discarded for the mysteries it contains, and for its alleged absurdities. Because it is plain that the same arguments are of equal or greater force when directed against natural religion. Mystery involves itself with the truths of natural religion as much as with those of revealed religion, and it is just as easy to fix the charge of absurdity on those as these. Intelligent infidels must be aware of this; and if the tables were turned, if the majority thought as the infidel now thinks, he would find equal satisfaction in fixing the charge of mystery and absurdity on natural religion. How God can be present here and there also, or how he can exist uncased, are just as mysterious as any truth in natural religion, and the charge of absurdity can be made just as plausibly.

But there is a cause why infidels are on the side of the question rather than that. It is moral depravity. The truths of revealed religion come more plainly and directly in collision with their propensities. It is not pride of intellect merely, but opposition of heart. The heart desires to think, and believe, and act thus and so, and revealed religion comes with its prohibitions and its sanctions, and says—no. To save the appearance of reason, then, under the appearance of reason, is vastly agreeable. But after all, sophistry is unsatisfactory; however it may gratify intellectual pride, it does not satisfy the conscience. The triumph is still inwardly felt to be on the side of revealed religion, and thence the boiling hatred manifested by such men as Gibbon and Paine.—*Vermont Chronicle*.

M O R A L .

INFIDELITY.